

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9987

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, GE, XA, NI, GW, UR
SUBJECT: GDR ROLE AT ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE

REF: BERLIN 6595

1. SUMMARY: REFLECTING INCREASED GDR ACTIVITY IN AFRICA,
GDR REPS SERVED AS ABLE SPOKESMEN FOR EASTERN POSITION
AT LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE. GDR FOLLOWED TACTICAL
LINE WHICH AVOIDED ALIENATING EITHER RADICAL LIBERATION
GROUPS AND AFRICAN STATES OR IMPORTANT, MODERATE AFRICAN
STATES. THUS, EAST AVOIDED BEING ISOLATED AS HAD BEEN CASE
IN MAPUTO. END SUMMARY.

2. GDR WAS REPRESENTED AT CONFERENCE AS FOLLOWS:

--OFFICIAL GDR DELEGATION WAS MADE UP OF DEPUTY FONMIN
AND UN PERMREP PETER FLORIN, GUENTHER MAUERSBERGER OF
UN MISSION AND LOCAL GDR MISSION PERSONNEL. GDR DELEGATION
WAS FIRST TO ARRIVE AT CONFERENCE RESULTING IN PARTICULAR
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MEDIA COVERAGE. FLORIN ADDRESSED CONFERENCE.

--TWO GDR "CITIZEN GROUPS," GDR SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE
AND GDR COMMITTEE FOR THE DECADE AGAINST RACISM, WERE
AMONG THE MANY NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AT CONFERENCE.
ALTHOUGH THEY PARTICIPATED LITTLE IN CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES,
REPS OF BOTH GROUPS SAT RELENTLESSLY THROUGH THE MANY

CONFERENCE SPEECHES. PUBLICATIONS FROM BOTH GROUPS IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH WERE AVAILABLE IN QUANTITY IN CONFERENCE LOUNGES.

--SED CHIEF ERICH HONECKER WAS MAONG MANY HEADS OF STATE WHO SENT SPECIAL MESSAGES TO CONFERENCE. HONECKER'S GOODWILL MESSAGE CALLED FOR TOTAL ARMS EMBARGO OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ADVOCATED ANY MEANS NECESSARY TO PREVENT SOUTH AFRICA FROM OBTAINING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

3. MAIN ARENA FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN CONFERENCE WAS STEERING COMMITTEE WHERE GDR SERVED AS EASTERN EUROPEAN UN REGIONAL GROUP REP AND, ALONG WITH CUBA, AS EASTERN POINT MAN IN CONFERENCE POLITICAL MANEUVERING, WHICH CENTERED ON WORKDING OF FINAL CONFERENCE DECLARATION CONDEMNING APARTHEID SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA. STEERING COMMITTEE WAS COMPRISED OF REPS OF UN REGIONAL GROUPS PLUS CHAIRMEN OF CONFERENCE COMMISSION ON UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID. REPS OF OAU, SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF 24, AND TWO SA LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ALSO ATTENDED COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

4. ACCORDING TO WEO STEERING COMMITTEE REPS (CANADA), DGDR REPS ADROITLY FOLLOWED TWO TACTICAL OINES IN COURSE OF COMMITTEE DRAFTING SESSIONS. GDR INITIALLY PROPOSED RADICAL DRAFTING LANGUAGE FAVORED BY LIBERATION GROUPS AND SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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RADICAL ARAB AND AFRIAN STATES CALING FOR MANDATORY ECONOMIC AND NUCLEAR SACTIONS AGAINST SA COUPLED WITH INVOCATION OF UN CHARTER CHAPTER SEVEN. AS AT EARLIER MAPUTO CONFERENCE, WESTERN STATES, MOST NOTABLY CONTACT GROUP, WERE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THESE ASPECTS OF INITIAL DRAFT DECLARATIO . MODERATE AFRICAN STATES, PARTICULARLY HOST NIGERIA, ATTEMPTED TO SERVE AS BROKER IN HOPE STRONG CONSENSUS DECLARATION COULD BE DEVELOPED.

5. SECOND GDR TACTICAL LINE WAS TO ALLOW SOME RADICAL DRAFTING LANGUAGE PROPOSALS TO DROP WHEN MET UNETHUSIASTICALLY BY WEO AND MODRATE AFRICAN REPS. GDR REPS THEN MADE FOLLOW-ON PROPOSALS CONTAINING COMPROMISE LANGUAGE ACCEPTABLE TO WEST, WORKING IN CORRIDORS AS WELL AS IN SESSIONS TO SEE SUCH LANGUAGE ADOPTED. NEVERTHELESS, IN THE END, CONSENSUS DECLARATION COULD NOT BE REACHED. WESTERN REPS, INCLUDING U.S., ORALLY STATED RESERVATIONS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF DECLARATION ADOPTED ON FINAL DAY OF CONFERENCE.

6. WEO REPS FELT THERE WERE TWO MOTIVATIONS FOR GDR ACTION. INITIAL TACTIC OF RADICAL DRAFTING PROPOSALS

PRESERVED GDR/EASTERN CREDIBILITY AMONG RADICAL STATES
AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AT CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, SECOND
TACTIC OF MODERATE COMPROMISE PROPOSALS WAS BASED ON
RECOGNITION THAT MODERATE AFRICAN STATES, AGAIN PARTICULARLY
NIGERIA, VERY MUCH WANTED A CONSENSUS TEXT. THUS, IF EAST
HAD SUPPORTED RADICAL PROPOSALS DOWN THE LINE, IT WOULD HAVE RISKED A
LIENATING MORE IMPORTANT MODERATE AFRICAN
STATES AND WOULD HAVE FOUND ITSELF UNCOMFORTABLY ISOLATED
AS AT MAPUTO . AS NOTED ABOVE, CONSENSUS DID IN FACT
NOT EMERGE. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO WEO REPS, EAST DID
SUCCESSFULLY WORK BOTH SIDES OF STREE T AT LAGOS AND
PRESERVED ITS CREDENTIALS WITH ALL ACTORS. IN THAT SENSE,
GDR IN LAGOS PLAYED A CENTRAL AND ADROIT ROLE AS SURROGATE
SPOKESMAN FOR SOVIET POSITION IN COMPLEX AND EXPLOSIVE
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AFRICAN POLITICAL ARENA.
WYMAN

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